

USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN POLISH SECURITY STRATEGY

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The views expressed in this student academic research paper are those
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ABSTRACT

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There are two thoughts about Poland's security situation. The first is "optimistic" in the context of the safe situation in Europe and with our neighbors. The second is "pessimistic" in light of new threats like world-wide terrorism.

Additionally, the question is: who will be a partner in Polish security; UN, NATO, EU or? I will analyze the military's role in peacetime, crisis and war. I will answer the question, what transformation of Polish Armed Forces should happen in the 21st Century and when will we face new challenges. I will also analyze the military's role in national and international defense of freedom, justice and peace, which are the basic Polish National Values.

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POLAND AND OUR FORCES

*"We-the Polish Population, who know what is independence will live in the World Human Family
in freedom, justice, and peace"¹*

Poland lies in an especially important part of Europe. It is at the junction of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and its two most important partners-Russia and Ukraine. Intercourse between the alliance and these states are key to the safety of Europe. Given its geographical position in the center of Europe, on the narrowing between the Baltic and Carpathian Mountains, Poland is an area of special strategic meaning for Europe and East-West relations.

The changes launched across the European continent with Poland's active participation brought an end to global East-West confrontation. Conditions conducive to the freedom-seeking and democratic aspirations of nations have emerged. A new, more integrated Europe has begun to take shape. Euro-Atlantic links, based on the Atlantic Alliance and guaranteeing Europe's security, were strengthened by NATO's enlargement, thereby expanding our continent's area of democracy and stability. Membership in the Atlantic Alliance in a significant way has changed Poland's geographical and geostrategic position. Poland has become part of an effective allied defense system guaranteeing security and providing conditions for stable development. The prospect for joining the European Union is taking concrete shape. Membership in the European Union means creating conditions for the country's social and economic development and will tie Poland more closely to European interests and security systems.

As a result of the end of the Cold War, the threat of global war has greatly diminished and the danger of world-wide conflict has subsided. At the same time, new challenges and threats to international peace and stability have emerged. These threats include: terrorism, ethnic conflicts, economic crises, disruption of political stability, organized violence, human-rights violations, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and organized transnational crime. Terrorism is especially dangerous. The modern trend in terrorism is toward loosely organized self-financed, international networks. Often terrorism is ideologically or religiously motivated. Terrorism with religion as a pretext uses activities that are supported by sophisticated planning and logistics. Al Quida continues to seek new sanctuaries and base areas. The tragic events of September 11, 2001 in New York, Washington D.C., and Pennsylvania have dramatically

reenergized the world's focus and resolve to defeat terrorism. The events of September 11, have given the world a big mission-fighting terrorism.

Poland does not see any conventional threats from other states and does not perceive any states as enemies. Poland does not get involved in other countries political systems. Poland seeks only to be an equal to other countries. In practical activities Poland directs itself according to the following basic rules: national defense, integration with alliances, cooperation and partnership, strengthening confidence and regional stability, reliability, military cooperation, and balancing the other needs of the country and defense. The Polish system of defense determines all power and centers intended to realize defensive assignments. It consists of three basic elements: a system of command and control, military, and civilian systems².

The military system of defense is basic. It is safer to protect the independence of Poland and the indivisibility of her territory by assuring the security and inviolability of her borders by acting both as part of a national system of defense and as part of an alliance system. The Polish Armed Forces consists of three military services: the Air and Air Defense Forces, the Army, and the Navy.

The Army assures defense against ground and air attack in any region of the country and takes part in alliance operations. It includes operational force and territorial defense forces. Today the Army has two mechanized corps consisting of four mechanized divisions and other units. There are 88,000 soldiers. The basic armaments are:³

| | |
|----------------------------|------|
| Tanks (Leopard 2 and T-72) | 962 |
| Infantry Fighting Vehicles | 1320 |
| Cannon | 652 |
| Helicopters | 144 |

The army is the core of the Polish Armed Forces.

Polish Air and Air Defense Forces have the following tasks: Air defense of Poland in cooperation with NATO, Air Reconnaissance, Early Warning and Information, and Emergency Airlift and Evacuation. Today we have two Air Defense Corps with two air tactical brigades equipped with MIG-21 and SU-22. We have four anti aircraft brigades and four radio-technical brigades. Total air and air defense personnel is 30,000.⁴

The Polish Navy is very small with only about 15,000 sailors. Its missions are Polish Coastal Defense, Safety of Polish Territory, and participation in Baltic alliance operations with NATO. The Polish Navy has four small fleets, with the largest ships, frigates "Tadeusz Kosciuszko" and "Kazimierz Pulawski" that are gifts from United States of America (USA).⁵

Generally speaking we have Armed Forces that match our economic situation. Today the Polish government's budget gives 1.95% to the department of defense⁶.

There are four important problems affecting the Polish military role in national security: the Polish security situation; the basic documents on the role of the military in the National Security Strategy; the roles of the military in war, crisis, and peacetime; and the future of the Polish military. This analysis will address all the problems of the role of the military in Polish Security Strategy.

POLISH SECURITY SITUATION

*"We the people of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind"*⁷

Today the situation is clearly a split between optimistic, affirmative immediate environments promising solid improvement (and Poland most certainly was never as safe as it is now) and pessimistic visions of several dimensions of threats.

We have positive relations with our neighbors. We promote rigorous cooperation with all European partners, notably with Germany and France, our Weimar Triangle partners. The Polish-German-Danish North-Eastern Corps is a practical expression of cooperation in the realm of defense. We reinforce regional cooperative trends, particularly within the framework of the Visegrad Group and the Council of Baltic Sea States. We especially support the Euro-Atlantic aspirations of our neighbors-Lithuania and Slovakia-and of other countries in the region. The Partnership for Peace Program, individual cooperation programs, international military units and other joint ventures serve, among other things, the realization of these aspirations. It is interesting that Poland will make an effort to develop a strategic partnership with an independent and democratic Ukraine, which is one of the most important elements of stability and security in Europe. Our policy vis-à-vis Russia, a country striving for democracy and reforms, will be one of openness and a sustained search for points of contact and concrete areas of cooperation. As NATO's easternmost nation we have a vital interest in maintaining positive relationships with Russia through alliances. We shall promote consolidation of both democratic values in Belarus and that country's international personality in European relations. An independent, democratic, stable and secure Belarus is in Poland's vital national interest.

New threats, brought to light recently, do not threaten independence or the integrity of the state, but threaten its citizens and infrastructure. These threats are the consequence of the social and economic pathology of international life. They are shaped in an environment that is favorable to dangers that come from considerable distance, in an invisible manner, and

penetrate borders, as on September, 11 2001 in New York. They also come in the form of terrorist assassinations, organized crime, threats to tele-information, and the illegal weapons trade. I would like to point out that the Polish Security Strategy does not adequately counter the religious, ethnic, and immigration basis of present threats. It does not ignore quiet threats originating from the representatives of other cultures. Strategy prompts us to reflect that when we do not have to defend the borders against our nearest neighbors, then we should prepare the army and other organizations for activities that are sometimes far outside the country, where the environment generating the threats exists. So let us build a more professional army that is light, well-equipped, and more expeditionary. Simultaneously, although threats appear from the inside, their sources are often distant at our borders! Our nation needs to develop civil services that can cooperate with service organizations in other countries.

Strategy underlines the preference for security of Poland as part of the North Atlantic Alliance. NATO is modernizing and adapting itself to the international situation considerably more quickly than other institutions. The Polish Strategy puts the European Union and European Security Policy in a secondary position. Today my country is approaching the European Union with conflicting terms. I believe there needs to be a major change in European Policy. Europe is changing, but less spectacularly than America in its approach to international security. For example, the United States (USA) has clear goals; these are: political and economic freedom, peaceful relations with other states, and respect for human dignity⁸. Americans place great emphasis on military power especially in their new doctrine of preemptive military strikes, which takes presidential war-making power to new heights⁹. European thinking unites in three factors: diplomacy, mutual help, and light military reaction units but only in the European region. This thinking does not anticipate the future and cannot last very long. Today threats don't recognize borders and can originate from anywhere around the world. Thinking can't be limited to regions. The new Polish strategy does not disavow the United Nations (UN). We still value our part in this organization and we want to help reform it, especially in the aspects of security and international law. Our strategy instead attaches less weight to regional solutions. We acknowledge that our immediate security environment is in better shape than at any other time in the past. Today we are in NATO and in the near future all Poland's neighbors will be too. The next step in our foreign policy will be to join the European Union (EU) next year. We have high hopes for economic growth as a member of the EU, but we don't have the same hope for security. This is because we believe that the EU limits its security concerns to the European region.

Today Poland is very active in the area of peace missions. Poland continues its strong record of supporting United Nations peacekeeping operations by maintaining a unit in Southern Lebanon, a battalion in NATO's Kosovo Force (KFOR) and by providing and actually deploying the KFOR strategic reserve in Kosovo¹⁰. I would like to point out that today Poland also has one division in Iraq as a peacekeeping force.

We should not forget about internal security when we diagnose the nature of our threats. For internal security the weight transfers to the complex of institutions and interested departments such as counter-espionage, intelligence, border guards, police and other services, and a civilian system of time-critical threat reaction. Poland should take steps to protect its infrastructure, tele-information, and local government before terrorist strikes, border penetration, infiltration, or criminal acts can occur.

Polish Strategy must place more emphasis on the economic requirements of securing the state. This includes plans for financial perturbations that can disrupt economic growth and induce social troubles. The Polish strategy must include economic modernization, an energy policy, and protection of the natural environment.

Poland in the future should continue to participate in the UN as an active member and Polish units should take part in all peacekeeping operations. From an economic perspective we should become a full member of the European Union. However, we should put our primary emphasis on being a member of NATO for security purposes. Today only NATO guarantees international security.

THE DOCUMENTS RELATING THE MILITARY ROLE IN NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY

*"Our nation's cause has always been larger than our nations defense. We fight as we always fight, for a just peace that favors liberty. We will defend the peace against the threats from terrorists and tyrants."*¹¹

Polish Military Forces have an important role in Polish security. The Polish Military Force is part of the Polish National Security Strategy and Polish National Strategy of Defense. The Polish National Security Strategy is the main component of the Polish National Strategy of Defense. It was written in 1997 but after September 11, 2001 it was amended to include counter-terrorism activity.

The foundations of Polish Security Strategy are:¹²

- Guaranteeing the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the state and contributing to building a permanent, just, and peaceful order in the world.
- Protecting the democratic constitutional order including the full rights, freedoms and safety of the citizens of the Polish Republic.

- Creating the best possible conditions for stable, social, and economic development of the country.

It exposes the essence of defense, where the defense strategy is a basic component of Poland's Security Strategy.

National defense involving the commitment of the state's entire defense capability, both military and non-military, to counter hazards posed by external political and military threats including those related to crises and wars. Hence, the Polish strategy identifies both the sources and nature of external challenges of military threats to national security. It defines ways to counter such threats in peace time (prevention and stabilization strategy), crisis and war (war strategy), as well as specifying the assets and capabilities the state must set aside for the implementation of the aforementioned security. In other words, the strategy sets out the elements, structure, and principles governing Poland's national defense.

NATO membership is a basic factor in Poland's ability to deter prospective aggressors and defend itself against aggression. NATO's nuclear deterrence posture plays an essential role in our security. Alliance obligations enshrined in Article V of the North Atlantic Treaty are of particular significance¹³. The Polish defense strategy is coordinated with NATO. The coordination of the Polish defense strategy with that of the alliance is a key part of its effectiveness and credibility.

The foundations of Polish Security Strategy are the essence of Polish defense. The Polish system of defense which presents the Polish National Strategy of Defense consists of three subsystems. There are subsystems: command and control, Non-military, Military.

The first subsystem is made up of command and control organs, which answer for realization of defensive assignments. This subsystem is prepared during peacetime to react to crisis and war. The President of Poland and his Cabinet Ministers are the principle organs of the defense command and control system. In accordance with the Polish Constitution, the President is responsible for the safety and sovereignty of the state. He is also the highest superior of the Polish Armed Forces. His advisory organ of internal and external security is the National Security Council. The Cabinet Ministers drive internal and foreign policing of Poland and assure her internal and external security. The Minister of National Defense directs the department of defense. He prepares defense projects and performs general management in matters of execution. Hence, he coordinates and performs general supervision over the realization of defensive assignments by public administration, economic, and other institutions. The Cabinet Ministers cooperate with the president about national defense. The Cabinet Ministers have an advisory organ, the Committee of Defense affairs. In time of crisis or war, this

committee can give special assignments for national needs or NATO duty and can make additional procedures and create new structures. In peacetime, the minister of defense directs all agencies of the department of defense. The principle organ of strategic planning is the General Staff and the commanders of the branches. They provide full command over all forces and also cooperate with allied commands.

In crisis time the system of command is the same. Special solutions are implemented in time of war. In this time a Central Command Position of State Defense is established. The president and the Minister of Cabinet share this position. In wartime the highest commander of Polish Forces is appointed by the president and directs all branches. In war we have the War Command System, which is prepared for and trained in peacetime. The second nonmilitary subsystem has informational, security, and economic elements. The informational elements realize assignments connected with protection of Polish business in the international arenas, weakening the enemy, and strengthening of our own moral.

Use of the media and all information sources like Polish Radio, TV, and National Intelligence Agency is very important. Security elements have the assignment to assure the safe structures of stand and protection of the population. They have the very important assignment of protecting the national fortune. It is prepared to guard the state borders and maintain public order. There are Polish Police, Polish Border Guards, etc. The economic elements have the assignment of assuring the material basis for the fighting forces and population. Their basic assignment is to solve economic problems. They create both state and private reserve for wartime. They have an especially important role in the defense industry.

The basic military subsystem consists of the Polish Armed Forces. Polish Armed Forces play an important role in the Polish National Strategy of Defense. In this strategy they are quintessential. The Polish Armed Forces protect the independence of Poland, ensure indivisibility of her territory, and assure the safety and inviolability of her borders. Acting as part of our national system of defense and in the alliance system the Polish Armed Forces are prepared to execute three kinds of strategic assignments:

- Repulse immediate aggression on the territory of Poland or participation in the repulse of aggression on another allied state.
- Missions for international organizations
- Stabilization and prevention during peacetime and participation in reacting to non-military threats.

Taking into account future operational and strategic requirements they concentrate on their qualities. First of all the acceleration of technical modernization, full realization of the process of instruction and making highly qualified soldiers, and improving the condition of life for soldiers.

Potential power makes possible efficient and realistic changes to the military environment in Poland. It should guarantee defensive activities against the threat of security of the state and of the alliance. Poland's military solidly participates in international operations in peacetime and maintains the potential to react to crises. Simultaneously, it should assure the mobilization and development of armed forces according to the potential threats. Armed forces are prepared to execute assignments in collective defense of NATO and perform crisis reactions. All forces have a high degree of readiness and have the ability to quickly react to every kind of threat. They have a degree of readiness intended to support continuing operations.

The armed forces consist of:

- Operating forces prepared for defense and multinational operations.
- Forces to defend the territory of Poland itself

Today we have only seven battalions of territorial defense forces but in war the Polish territorial defense forces grow to 50% of all forces¹⁴.

Polish National Strategy of Defense is very clear about the tasks for Polish Armed Forces. I will explain how these tasks are performed by the Polish Armed Forces in the next section.

THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN PEACE CRISIS AND WAR

*"Never, never, never believe any war will be smooth and easy, or that anyone who embarks on that strange voyage can measure on the tides and hurricanes that will be encountered."*¹⁵

Poland's armed forces will take part in three types of operations:

- Peacetime (prevention and stabilization)
- Crisis (Crisis management)
- War

In peacetime the main task is improving the system of defense. This is done through a suitable mobilization system, embracing management of personnel and supplies, and the equipping and instruction of the reserves. The minister of defense assures the development of armed forces for war time. The most important activities are:¹⁶

- Modification of systems, planning for mobilization according to new legal and economic obligations of the state.
- Initiating new programs of instruction for soldiers and reservists
- Strengthening the structures of military administration
- Reconstruction to supplement losses due to war

The Armed Forces concentrate their effort on success and maintenance of basic operating abilities: readiness for fighting and mobilization, effectiveness of intelligence, effectiveness of

command, elasticity of reaction and mobilization, efficiency of strike, vitality of forces. The Armed Forces train and prepare in peacetime. As a matter of fact, the Polish armed forces program to prepare for war includes all aspects of modern warfighting. Forces that take part in peace operations are especially important. We see that in peacetime we have to be prepared for prevention and stabilization activities. The main thrust of these activities is constant intelligence gathering, early recognition of challenges and threats, and prevention of potential threats in real crisis or war. Participation of the armed forces in stabilization-prevention activities takes place first through military cooperation. Polish forces have contacts with similar units in other countries. Today we are in several multinational units; for example the North East Corps, the Ukraine-Polish Battalion, the Slovak-Czech-Polish Brigade, etc. The most important cooperation program is the "Partnership for Peace". We take part in peace operations, human operations, and UN missions. Polish participation in "Partnership for Peace" builds confidence and safety in central Europe.

The next area is crisis management. The main goal of crisis management is reacting quickly and capturing the crisis situation which threatens the state or international communities and minimizing the effects of the crisis and restoration and prevention of future crises. The Polish defense system is prepared to perform two kinds assignments in crisis management situations. First assuring the security of Poland and her allies. Main activities in this situation are:

- Protection of Poland against threats during complex protection operations.
- Preparing Poland to host alliance forces.
- Participation in protecting the territory of other allied states.

The second kind of assignment is crisis reaction. This is reacting to crises which are only indirect threats to the safety of Poland or her allies. They are:

- Recognizing and locating crisis and exerting military pressure on the conflict
- Supporting humanitarian, antiterrorist, and peace operations
- Enforcing peace during military operations like the Polish operation in Iraq.

The important war activities of Poland only result from aggression against her or an allied state. It can be on a large scale, engaging the entire state, or local armed conflict with a limited commitment of power in time and space. For Poland, as a member of NATO, every war would be an allied war in accordance with the rules that any aggression against a member of NATO is aggression against all of NATO. Local armed conflict should quickly repulse aggression and defeat the enemy by standing forces. In larger or growing conflicts we will

engage additional forces through mobilization. Additional allied forces are indispensable to win the war.

In large scale war the main role of the operational forces, territorial, and allied forces is the defense of Poland. The main assignments in the Defense of Poland include:¹⁷

- Recognition, stopping, and weakening of the enemy during defensive operations while the main forces are developed and while allied forces deploy to Poland.
- Defeat and destroy the enemy through strategic counter-offensive with allied forces.

An integral part of defense is territorial defense forces, which are prepared to execute three kinds of strategic assignments:

- National defense by organizing defense of cities and important regions
- Protecting infrastructure essential for freedom of maneuver
- Disrupting the operations of aggressors by irregular activities

The inclusion of Polish forces to defensive wars outside of the state would include:

- Participation in allied campaigns and military operations
- Participation in information operations
- Military protection of our own territory, especially intensive aerial defense, border defense, and neutralization of terrorist attacks
- Mobilization in the case of widening war

Generally speaking, the important peacetime military activities should include training and preparation for war. Only intensive and effective preparation through military exercises from the individual soldier to the military leadership will ensure success.

THE FUTURE OF THE POLISH MILITARY

“...A future force that is defined less by size and more by mobility and swiftness, one that is easier to deploy and sustain, one that relies more heavily on stealth, precision weaponry and information technologies”¹⁸

Today, modernization of Polish Armed Forces is based on scientific and technological progress, demographic changes, integration of Europe, cooperation with USA, evolution of NATO strategy and new threats in the world like terrorism. Useful in this analysis is the study “Polish Armed Forces-2025” from July 2003. It describes development of military armaments and equipment for new threats in the world and their influence on the Polish Armed Forces. Polish Armed Forces have to be peaceable and compatible with developments in NATO and the European Union. These directions refer to “Powers of NATO” transformation of NATO, new structures of command in NATO and military cooperation in NATO and the UN.

The projected structure of armed forces should answer the challenges of the future. Recognition, command, mobilization, efficient aerial defenses, biochemical and radiological

protection and the ability to do special activities like counter-terrorism are the aim of the reconstruction of Polish armed forces. We should endeavor to improve our functionality and effectiveness in peace, crisis, and war. Polish Armed Forces should be prepared to do all allied operations. These premises give us three variants of transformation: conservative, sedate, and radical.

In the “conservative” variant we see the tempo of reform will be similar to today. This variant foresees keeping part of power in the countries defense and building a large modern component, critical to reacting in the country and outside our borders. In 2025 we will have 90-100,000 soldiers, but only professional volunteers.

The Army would have 30-35 battalions with 450 tanks, 1200 armored fighting vehicles, 500 artillery pieces, 120 attack helicopters.

The Navy will have ships of different classes, with sea bases. There will be 30-40 warships

The Air Force will have tactical aviation units and will have from 20,000 airmen¹⁹.

This conservative model is not a good solution. The variant is very small and has modest programs, with a better but smaller expeditionary component.

The second “sedate” variant has deeper technical modernization, unification of structures and armament units and would take part in allied joint operations and in country. More equipment for armed forces with modern command and control systems, intelligent weapons, systems of electronic warfare will reduce the size of the armed forces to 60-80 thousand soldiers.

The Polish Army will be a basic component of the armed forces and compatible with allied powers. It will be about 30 battalions with several specialist brigades like artillery, logistics, etc. Aerial forces would work within allied systems. There will be three wings; tactical, emergency, and cargo aviation totaling 60-70 fighter planes and 8-10 cargo aircraft.

The Navy would have two to three bases with 6-8 frigates, 10-12 destroyers, three or four submarines, two to three logistics ships and dozens of smaller ships²⁰.

The advantages of the “sedate” variant are more standardized components, better equipment, and more participation in expeditionary operations with alliance partners.

The last “radical” variant is based on a complete change of philosophy on the defense of the state. This idea foresees the possibility of assignments in joint defense groups. In this manner, armed forces would have the ability to participate in international operations. They will have power and precision. The armed forces would have 50-60 thousand professional soldiers.

The basic organization of the army would be about 20 segment groups composed of command, intelligence, fighting and support units. These groups will have 200-300 unmanned fighting platforms, 100-150 unmanned centers of fire and different types of support.

The Air Forces would concentrate of the air threat especially ballistic missiles and other centers of cosmic attack, support of ground and sea operations. There would be two wings of tactical aviation, one wing of cargo aviation, and aerial defense composed of two units with anti aircraft and missile systems. The Air Force has 40-50 fighters and 10-12 heavy lift aircraft and 10-12 anti aircraft system.

The Navy would have the ability to participate in allied sea operations. The structure of the Navy would be: 8 frigates, 12 destroyers, 10-12 unmanned universal fighting platforms²¹. In this variant there are advantages of using new technologies and good ability to take part in allied operations, but it would be very expensive.

The final choice of option is not easy. By 2006, the previous Polish Program of Transformation will be complete. It is necessary also to remember that independently from our objectives the conditions of the world will cast the future challenges and threats, shape the future of NATO, and the security of in Europe. We should make our decision using the prism of the financial possibility of Poland.

CONCLUSION

This analysis shows that Polish National Security Strategy falls to the Polish Armed Forces. The military system is a pillar together with non-military and command systems. We have a very good security situation, especially in Europe based on the alliance with NATO, but new threats in the world like terrorism make new challenges. The Polish Armed Forces should prepare to meet these challenges through transformation.

The Polish National Security Strategy and Polish National Strategy of Defense give very clear tasks to the Polish Armed Forces. Peace-time is a very important time in the preparation of the Polish Armed Forces for crisis and war activities.

As a matter of fact, no easy answer is possible about the Polish Armed Forces after 2006, because we should see first of all by the prism of the financial possible of the state. However, the vision is clear, the Polish Armed Forces should defend the country first and foremost and take part in international operations, especially with NATO to counter new threats.

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